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ABSTRACT

This annotated bibliography presents 126 selected references on the topic of cults. Focusing mainly on religious cults, including the Reverend Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church and the Hare Krishna groups, the entries examine allegations of mind control tactics over converts, issues raised by the allegations, and controversial methods used by outsiders to "rescue" and deprogram cult members. Comprising scholarly, journalistic, and partisan references, the bibliography has four sections: (1) conversion and commitment processes in "cults," (2) cults, civil liberties, and public policy, (3) social and psychological processes in religious deprogramming, and (4) the nature of "brainwashing," etc. Arranged within each section alphabetically by author's name, the entries include title, publication source and date, and annotations of short paragraph length. Some of the annotations reflect the compiler's personal bias. (AV)

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Civil Liberties, "Brainwashing" and "Cults"

A Select Annotated Bibliography

Second Edition
Revised and Expanded

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Compiled by
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CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF
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Introduction

This is an annotated, select bibliography of literature relating to allegations that "cults" use "mind control" to bewitch converts, and dealing with the legal, civil liberties, and public policy issues raised by these allegations and by certain controversial tactics employed to "rescue" the putative victims of mind control. I have divided the bibliography into four overlapping sections: 1) Scholarly, journalistic, and partisan accounts of *conversion and indoctrination processes in "cults,"* and in particular processes in relatively authoritarian movements such as the Unification Church; 2) Literature directly dealing with *legal, civil liberties and public policy issues* involving alleged cultist brainwashing and religious deprogramming; 3) Scholarly, journalistic, and partisan accounts of *social and psychological processes in deprogramming;* and 4) General formulations regarding the nature of *"brainwashing," "coercive persuasion," "thought reform," etc.* The first three of these sections conceptually overlap. It was frequently rather difficult to decide under which subheading a particular item should be entered. An article listed in Part 1, 2, or 3 often might just as plausibly be listed in one or both of the other two sections. I have tried to avoid the extra work of listing a given piece in more than one section or sublist. Therefore, the researcher who thinks that he or she is primarily interested in only one of the first three sections would be well advised to peruse *all three* sublists.

Except for a few lighthearted moments, my "annotations," which are sometimes lengthy, are informative and/or analytical and, I think, will be rather useful. My "bias" is quite evident, but I have avoided outright ranting.

Some of the "pamphlets" which I have listed are not readily available because the "anti-cult" organizations under whose auspices they have been published are ephemeral. However Dr. Anson Shupe and Dr. David Bromley, who have been studying the "Anticult Movement" for several years, have compiled a large library of polemical literature denouncing "cults" (real Americana!). They are willing to field inquiries and transmit copies to responsible scholars. At present they can be reached via the Sociology Department at the University of Texas, Arlington, Texas.

I am indebted to the following scholars for sending me material, making material known to me, or, in a few cases, providing abstracts for papers unknown to me: Dr. Anson Shupe, Dr. David Bromley, Robin Spear, Dr. Jack N. Porter, Dr. James Richardson, Dr. Theodore Long, Dr. Irving Horowitz, and Dick Anthony.

Thomas Robbins
New York City

Part One:

Conversion and Commitment Processes in "Cults"

ANTHONY, DICK and THOMAS ROBBINS. "Religious Movements and the 'Brainwashing' Issue." Paper read to THE AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, New York, Sept. 1979. Criticizes "brainwashing" interpretations of the commitment of young persons to "cults" and seeks to re-direct attention to a context of normative breakdown and cultural confusion which enhances the appeal of esoteric and/or authoritarian movements as sources of putative authenticity.

BANNER, BOB. "In Search of Certitude: An Inside View of Sun Myung Moon's Booneville, California Community." *New Age Journal*, vol. 11, no. 1, May, 1976. An excellent journalistic piece based on participation-observation at the MOONIST NEW IDEAL COMMUNITY RANCH at Booneville, Cal. Without sounding like an anticult demonologist the author analyzes the seductive and manipulative process of recruitment and the capacity of a managed social environment to create a sense of loving harmony and spontaneity. The "coercive charm" of devotees inhibits a participant in a weekend workshop from returning to his former surroundings where he is told he will relapse into selfish materialism and negate the beauty of the communal experience. The author also reveals the rigid dualistic absolutism underlying the themes of "unity"

and "harmony" in the Moonist ideology – "a desire for certainty is what the seductive appeal of Booneville is all about."

BARKER, EILEEN. "Conversion into the Rev. Moon's Unification Church in Britain." Paper presented to the BRITISH SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION'S Sociology of Religion Group at THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS, Sept. 1977. A careful comparison of "brainwashing" and "conversion" models re the English Moonists. Dr. Barker opts for conversion. See also the author's article, "Living the Divine Principle: Inside the Reverend Moon's Unification Church." *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions.* 1978. This paper summarizes the conclusions of the earlier paper.

BATESON, DANIEL. PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION *Monitor,* 1976, no. 1, pp. 32-35. Reprinted in I. Horowitz (ed.) *Science, Sin and Scholarship* , MIT, 1978. "The persuasion techniques of both sides of the indoctrination-deprogramming controversy are certainly manipulative... both proselytizers and deprogrammers isolate their subjects from outside social supports while lavishing support from the desired reference group." Authoritarian indoctrination contexts deserve further study. "Psychology has been provided with a living laboratory."

BROMLEY, DAVID and ANSON SHUPE. "Just a Few Years Seem Like a Lifetime: A Role Theory Approach to Participation in Religious Movements," in LOUIS KRIESBERG (ed.) *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change,* vol. II. Greenwich: JAI Press, 1980. Based on a study of the conversion of "Moonies." The role-theory approach views the commitment process as a sequence of "socially structured events arising out of role relationships." A group not only meets member's needs but

shapes them "to the group's own purposes." The authors reject "brainwashing" but also reject the "motivation" model which explains conversion in terms of group properties and meanings simply functionally linking up with converts' prior needs and orientations. BROMLEY and SHUPE argue that marginal spiritual *behavior* often *precedes* belief. This approach seems close to attribution theory in psychology.

BROMLEY, DAVID and ANSON SHUPE. *The Moonies in America: Church, Sect and Cult.* Beverly Hills: Sage, 1980. Definitive sociological treatment.

CLARK, JOHN. "Sudden Personal Change and the Maintenance of Critical Government Functions." Paper read to THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY OF POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY. 1979, Washington, D.C. "Cults" aim at changing "the very fabric of the surrounding society" and imposing totalitarian controls. Cultist indoctrination "employs excessive stress to break down the mind's ability to carry out" complex processes and "substitutes a rigid and dull simplicity in which the adaptive function, at least in its higher intellectual form, has atrophied." DR. CLARK (M.D.) is Assistant Clinical Professor of Psychiatry at HARVARD MEDICAL SCHOOL and Outpatient Director at MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL.

CLARK, JOHN. "Investigating the Effects of Some Religious Cults on the Health and Welfare of Their Converts." (Testimony to the SPECIAL INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE of the VERMONT SENATE) 1976. Available as a pamphlet, Arlington, Texas: NATIONAL AD HOC COMMITTEE ENGAGED IN FREEING MINDS. DR. CLARK distinguishes between the "original" and "imposed" personalities of cult members. Depro-

gramming is a restoration process and an act of "repersonalization."

CLARK, JOHN. "Cults." *Journal of the American Medical Association,* vol. 242, no. 3, July, 20, 1979, pp. 279-81. "The unique capacity of these absolutist groups to cause harm stems from...sudden conversion through aggressive and skillful manipulation of a naive or deceived subject who is passing through or has been caused to enter a susceptible state of mind."

CONWAY, FLO and JIM SIEGELMAN. *Snapping: America's Epidemic of Sudden Personality Change.* Lippincott, 1978. A communications specialist (DR. CONWAY) and a journalist argue that many persons involved in today's cultism, neo-mysticism and therapeutic fads actually "snap" in the sense of slipping into a trance state which produces "information disease" and puts one's critical intellect on hold while allowing one to appear perfectly normal and perform basic functions. The authors' indictment is very broad and includes not only relatively totalistic groups such as Hare Krishna but also TM, human potential groups, and trance behavior (i.e. glossolalia) in evangelical and pentecostal contexts. It is arguable that this view discredits all experiential (as opposed to purely intellectual or ethical) religiosity as psychopathological. The authors admire TED PATRICK and view deprogramming as a kind of ultimately beneficial "unsnapping" which restores the individual's critical capacity. The importance of this book is its articulation of a "mind control" argument which does *not depend upon allegations of "religious totalism" and strenuous full-time communal regimentation.* The authors seem to assume that the vast majority of "men-on-the-street" who have *not* "snapped" are clearly possessed of these higher capacities for original

thought and critical reflection which meditators, est-ers and Moonies allegedly lack.

CONWAY, FLO and JIM SIEGELMAN. "Snapping: Welcome to the Eighties." *Playboy*, March 1979, pp.59, 217-219. Cultic rituals and indoctrination processes can "alter and destroy fundamental information-processing pathways of the brain." The authors also foresee a coming world in which the cults have actually taken over and "you cannot get a job in certain professions unless you have first taken 'the training', or where you cannot run for office unless you have accepted Jesus Christ as your personal savior."

COX, HARVEY. "Deep Structures in the Study of New Religions," in J. NEEDLEMAN amd G. BAKER (eds.) *Understanding The New Religions*, Seabury, 1978. The same themes or "myths" continually reappear in agitation against deviant sects throughout history: 1) the (political) "subversion myth," 2) the imputation of sexual deviancy, 3) the "myth of dissimulation," and 4) the "myth of the evil eye" (which attributes the spreading of religious deviance to witchcraft, spirit possession, or more recently,"brainwashing").

DORESS, IRVIN and JACK N. PORTER. *Kids in Cults: Why They Join, Why They Stay, Why They Leave*. Reconciliation Associates, 1977. An abridged version appeared in *Society*, vol. 15, no. 4, May/June 1978. Special sections focus on: 1) what parents and educators can do; 2) Where to find "help"; 3) A listing of cults and sects; and 4) A 4-page bibliography. Not an opinionated tract, but not a high-powered social science analysis (although insightful in parts). The authors like to *list* things (e.g. reasons for joining or leaving, tactics parents have tried to cope with cultist progeny, etc.). Can be

ordered from RC Associates, 28 Stanton Road, Suite 6, Brookline, MA 02146. Nice cover illustration of Moon, Guru Maharaj-ji, and A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prahupada.

EDWARDS, CHRISTOPHER. *Crazy for God: The Nightmare of Cult Life by an Ex-Moon Disciple.* Prentice-Hall, 1979. According to jacket blurb, "This timely portrayal of cultist manipulation and psychological violence provides a close-up look at the realities of life in a modern-day extreme religious cult."

EDWARDS, CHRISTOPHER. "The Creation of Group Mind in New Religions." Read to THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY OF POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY, Washington, D.C., 1979. Closely describes the "coercive" (extremely manipulative) indoctrination techniques used at the Booneville Cal. community project operated by the Unification Church.

ENROTH, RONALD. *Youth, Brainwashing, and the Extremist Cults.* Grand Rapids: Zondervan. An anti-cult tract by a sociologist who is also a staunch evangelical and sympathetic to deprogramming. The book is notable, however, for an attempt to distinguish between "cults" in general and "extreme cults" such as the Unification Church, Hare Krishna or the Children of God. Only the latter "brainwash" their members. The author's lumping of The Divine Light Mission of Guru Maharaj-ji with the COG et al. seems arbitrary, and, moreover, entails a subtle shift of criteria from totalistic encapsulation to the alleged intrinsically hypnotic or mind-controlling nature of "The Knowledge" or the Guru's technique of meditation.

FRIEDMAN, ROBERT. "Cults: Are Teens Being Brainwashed?" *Seventeen,* May 1979, pp.178-179,

200-202. Deals primarily with the recent case of Barbara Larsen, whose parents were granted a conservatorship in an ex-parte hearing (of which Barbara was uninformed) and who was held incommunicado for several days in a motel room before being taken to Freedom of Mind, Inc. in Pennsylvania. She subsequently "escaped" with the aid of a Moonist who infiltrated the deprogramming outfit pretending to be a pro-deprogramming reporter from the *National Enquirer*. Her parents and the deprogrammers claim she was "kidnapped" from the Freedom of Mind establishment; she denies it. Litigation continues.

GALANTER, MARC, RICHARD RABKIN, JUDITH RABKIN and ALEXANDER DEUTSCH. "The Moonies: A Psychological Study of Conversion and Membership in a Contemporary Religious Sect." *American Journal of Psychiatry*, vol. 136, no. 2, Feb. 1979, pp.165-170. Those present at Moonist workshops "had voluntarily presented themselves...The brainwashed captives described by Lifton were typically abused and coerced into compliance, something not reported by our subjects." Yet the workshops did "entail a series of carefully structured experiences that give increasingly explicit messages for commitment." The authors prefer *attribution theory* to brainwashing models. Their data indicates some tendency for a reduction of neurotic stress subsequent to conversion.

GALANTER, MARC and PETER BUCKLEY. "Evangelical Religion and Meditation: Psychotherapeutic Effects." *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, vol. 166, no. 10, October 1978. A study of devotees of the Divine Light Mission of Guru Maharaj-ji. Ritual meditation appeared to have some psychotherapeutic effects associated with a significant decline in the incidence of neurotic

symptoms. The authors identify "parallels (which) exist between certain DLM religious approaches and traditional psychotherapy."

HALL, JOHN R. "Apocalypse at Jonestown." Presented to THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION and in Robbins and Anthony (eds.) *In Gods We Trust: New Patterns of Religious Pluralism in America,* New Brunswick, NJ.: Transaction, 1980. Appeared first in *Society,* vol. 16, no. 16, Sept./Oct. 1979. Discusses Jonestown as a Utopian sect. The curious mixture of political and religious elements rendered the movement particularly volatile and inhibited its stable institutionaliztion as either an "other-worldly sect" or a political organization. Dr. Hall has also written a book on modern utopian communes, *The Ways Out: Utopian Communes in an Age of Babylon,* (Routlege and Kegan-Paul, 1978), which develops a typology and discusses various groups including a Hare Krishna (settlement in West Virginia) and Love Israel.

LIFTON, ROBERT J. "The Appeal of the Death Trip," *New York Times Magazine,* Jan. 7, 1979, pp.26-31. A good piece but inadvertently demagogic. According to Lifton, "We need to make careful distinctions among cults." Despite this disclaimer, the balance of the paper suggests that "cults" in general are characterized by negative properties such as manipulation and stimulation of devotees' guilt feelings, etc. Lifton argues that cults are beset by a basic "contradiction" whereby transcendent suprapersonal goals are embodied in a (putatively imperfect) leader. This leads to the "deification of idiosyncrasy" and volatility.

LOFLAND, JOHN. *Doomsday Cult.* Revised edition, New York: Irvington, 1978. The original version, which came out in the middle sixties, was a study of the

early American Moonists in the late fifties and early sixties. While not a demonological "brainwashing" analysis, there is much emphasis on *manipulative techniques* of proselytization. Pseudonyms are used throughout (e.g. Rev. Moon is "Mr. Chang"). The new version sketchily updates the spectacular rise, persecution and incipient decline of the movement in the seventies. Dr. Lofland anticipates Rev. Moon suddenly having a new vision and compelling a mass retreat to a secluded encapsulated enclave (a la Jonestown?). Several other scholars who have studied the movement (e.g. Irving L. Horowitz, Thomas Robbins) do not concur, but we shall see!

LOFLAND, JOHN. "Becoming a World-Saver Revisited." *American Behavioral Scientist,* vol. 20, no.6, 1977, pp.805-819. Reprinted in J. RICHARDSON, (ed.), *Conversion Careers,* Sage, 1978. A reconsideration of the interactionist sequential model of CONVERSION to a deviant sect presented in *Doomsday Cult* and in the 1965 Lofland-Stark article (see below). Lofland now views the model as overly deterministic and as depicting the convert as too passive.

LOFLAND, JOHN and RODNEY STARK. "Becoming a World-Saver." *American Sociological Review,* vol. 30, 1965, pp.862-874. Presents a general model of conversion to a deviant ideology based on a study of early California Moonists. The model is a stage-sequential or process model, which emphasizes the interaction of predispositional, situational, and social influence factors. Dr. Lofland has recently critically re-assessed this model (see above). This paper has been reprinted in C. GLOCK (ed.), *Religion in Sociological Perspective,* Belmont: Wadsworth. The Lofland-Stark model has been quite influential in both the sociology of religion and the sociology of "deviance," the latter being Dr. Lofland's primary area.

MACCOLLAM, JOEL A. *Carnival of Souls: Religious Cults and Young People.* Seabury, 1979. Originally an anti-cult pamphlet entitled *The Weekend That Never Ends.* The author enthuses over the work of "legitimate" and "reputable" deprogrammers.

MERRITT, JEAN. "Open Letter" Lincoln MA: Return to Personal Choice, Inc., 1979. (Pamphlet) Compares the Moon movement to the Hitler Youth and argues that devotees have been conditioned out of their free will.

MILLER, JESSE S. "The Utilization of Hypnotic Techniques by Religious and Therapy Cults." Paper read to THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY OF POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY, Washington D.C., 1979. Dr. Miller describes the use of "Yes-Set" statements (with which it is impossible to disagree) by cultists and unorthodox therapy groups to put prospective converts off their guard. Dr. Miller feels that the employment of these techniques mitigates the tendency, imputed by defenders of cults, for persons to self-select themselves into congenial groups which meet their distinctive needs. However, in labeling these techniques "hypnotic," Dr. Miller just might be confusing hypnosis with high-powered salesmanship.

OFSHE, RICHARD. "The Social Development of the Synanon Cult." Presented to THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION, Boston, 1979. Dr. Ofshe is also a reporter and shared in the Pulitzer Prize reportage on Synanon in 1978. In *Sociological Analysis,* Summer, 1980, vol. 41, no. 2.

RICHARDSON, JAMES T. (ed.). *The Brainwashing-Deprogramming Controversy.* Transaction, forthcom-

ing (probably 1981). Over sixteen papers on various aspects of the controversy. Five or six of the papers appeared in a special "brainwashing" issue of *Society* magazine.

RICHARDSON, JAMES T. (ed.). *Conversion Careers: In and Out of The New Religions.* Beverly Hills: Sage, 1978. A collection of papers on UFO cults, eastern gurus, deprogramming, Moonies, etc. Originally a special issue of *The American Behavioral Scientist,* vol. 26, no. 6, 1977.

RICHARDSON, JAMES T. "Types of Conversion and 'Conversion Careers' in New Religious Movements." Paper read to THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE, 1977. Printed as "Conversion Careers and Brainwashing in New Religions" in *Society* magazine in March 1980, vol. 17, no. 2. The concept of "conversion career" entails a sequential process involving multiple discrete "conversions" or "serial alternatives." In contrast, "brainwashing" theories according to Richardson, imply a discrete "single event" model of conversion.

RICHARDSON, JAMES T., R.B. SIMMONDS and M.W. HARDER. "Thought Reform and the Jesus Movement." *Youth and Society,* vol. 4, pp.185-200. The authors find some convergence between processes within a communal Jesus Movement and Robert Lifton's 11-step model of "thought reform." Significant divergences are also identified.

ROBBINS, THOMAS and DICK ANTHONY. "'Cults,' 'Brainwashing' and Counter-Subversion." *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Sciences.* November 1979, vol. 449 (Special issue on *Church and State).* Compares the current

agitation against "cults" with 19th century "counter-subversive" campaigns against Mormons, Freemasons and Catholics, which were also viewed as mentally enslaving devotees, antithesizing basic American values, and ultimately threatening civil order.

ROBBINS, THOMAS and DICK ANTHONY. "New Religions, Families and 'Brainwashing.'" *Society,* vol. 15, no. 4, 1978. Reprinted in Robbins and Anthony (eds.), *In Gods We Trust: New Patterns of Religious Pluralism in America* . Transaction, 1980. Explores the symbolic functions of "brainwashing" mystiques and the underlying realities of spiritual crisis and familial breakdown which are obscured by "mind control" formulations.

ROBBINS, THOMAS and DICK ANTHONY. "'Brainwashing' and the Persecution of 'Cults.'" *Journal of Religion and Health,* (Printed in Spring 1980, vol. 19, no. 1, pp.66-69). A much shorter, less comprehensive and more polemical precis of some of the propositions advanced in the paper described immediately above.

ROBBINS, THOMAS and DICK ANTHONY. "'Cults' vs 'Shrinks': Psychiatry and The Control of Religious Movements." Paper presented to THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION, 1979. Argues that psychiatrists and psychologists have been in the forefront of the campaign against "cults" in part because (1) gurus and "legitimate" therapists are competitors, and (2) new opportunities are possible for the latter as "rehabilitators" of the alleged victims of unorthodox movements. The stigmatization of "cults" is thus related to the "medicalization of deviance" whereby, increasingly, realms of "deviant" behavior are reconceptualized as involuntary (symptomatic

behaviors: e.g., "compulsive gambling," alcoholism, hyperactivity, child abuse, etc.).

ROBBINS, THOMAS and DICK ANTHONY (eds.). *In Gods We Trust: New Patterns of Religious Pluralism in America.* New Brunswick, NJ.: Transaction, 1980. Includes papers on Moonies, est, Jesus People, anti-cult ideology, communes, etc.

ROBBINS, THOMAS and DICK ANTHONY. "The Limits of Coercive Persuasion as an Explanation for Conversion to Authoritarian Sects." Paper read to THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY, Washington, D.C., 1979. Models of coercive persuasion have some heuristic value in understanding identity transformation in relatively authoritarian sects. However, obscurantist distortions and mystifications have arisen in connection with the rhetorical use of these models to legitimate deprogramming. Distortions include overgeneralized "CULT" stereotypes, implicit equation of formally voluntary groups with government operated institutions employing physical coercion, and primary reliance on the accounts of deprogrammed ex-converts who have negotiated their accounts in persuasive relationships with therapists and deprogrammers.

ROBBINS, THOMAS and DICK ANTHONY. "A Demonology of Cults." *Inquiry.* Sept. 1, 1980. "We tend to assume that anyone who subordinates himself or herself to a fervent, authoritarian and intolerant sect must have 'snapped' or been 'brainwashed.' But these metaphors contribute little to our understanding of religious movements."

RUDIN, MARCIA and A. James. *Prison or Paradise: The New Religious Cults.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980. Highly critical account.

SHAPIRO, ELI, M.D. "Destructive Cultism." *American Family Physician,* vol. 15, no. 2, pp.80-83. See also "Teens in Religious Cults Develop Dangerous Disease," *National Enquirer,* Oct. 10, 1977, which relies heavily on Dr. Shapiro's paper. According to Dr. Shapiro, young persons joining "cults" develop a real "disease, 'destructive cultism' (which) makes its victims ill both physically and emotionally." Dr. Shapiro's son, Eddie, is a Hare Krishna devotee. He has been abducted and deprogrammed at least twice, but keeps returning to his "cult." Eddie's first (temporarily successful) deprogramming is described by Ted Patrick in *Let Our Children Go.* His second abduction triggered the *Murphy* case in Queens when a grand jury refused to indict his abductors and instead indicted Krishna leaders for using "mind control" on Eddie.

SINGER, MARGARET. "Coming Out of the Cults." *Psychology Today,* vol. 12, no. 8, pp.72-82, 1979. Describes the problems of adjustment faced by persons emerging from "cults." 75% of her study sample have been deprogrammed, and Dr. Singer seems to approve of legal deprogramming. Although aware of variations among "cults," Dr. Singer perceived a striking similarity in terms of manipulative behavior modification techniques underlying seemingly diverse groups.

SINGER, MARGARET. "Cults as an Exercise in Political Psychology." Paper read to THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY OF POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY, Washington D.C., 1979. Similar to Dr. Singer's *Psychology Today* paper but with an added discussion of Jonestown.

SINGER, MARGARET. "Psychological Mechanisms of Cult Affiliation." Paper read to THE AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, New York, Sept. 1979.

SMITH, ARCHIE. "An Interpretation of The People's Temple and Jonestown: Implications for the Black Church." Presented to the ASSOCIATION FOR THE SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION, Boston, 1979. Attacks "psychoanalytically oriented" explanations of Jonestown and cults. Smith posits an alternative paradigm rooted in biblical social history and the historic role of the black church.

SOCIETY MAGAZINE. A special issue on cults, brainwashing and deprogramming, vol. 17, no. 3, March/April 1980. Contributors include Richard Delgado, "Friendly Persuasion: Aggressive Religious Proselytizing"; Edward Levi, "The Case for Deprogramming"; Barbara Hargrove, "Evil Eye Theories and Religious Choice"; James Richardson, "Conversion Careers and 'Brainwashing'"; Thomas Robbins et al., "'Brainwashing' As A Social Weapon"; Anson Shupe et al., "The Emerging Anti-Cult Movement".

STATE OF NEW YORK, Charity Frauds Bureau. *Final Report on the Activities of the Children of God to the Hon. Louis J. Lefkowitz, Attorney General of the State of New York.* Albany, New York, 1975. "The COG engages in a particularly reprehensible course of conduct by tampering with the personalities of converts...brainwashing techniques are deliberately employed under the rationalization that it is in the service of a good cause." A culminating chapter on "Mind-Manipulation" has subheadings: "Physical Coercion," "Isolation or Severing Ties," "Fatigue and Tension," "Uncertainty or Fear," "Fear Inducing (Vicious) Language" and "Seriousness."

STONE, DONALD. "On Knowing What We Know About New Religions," in J. NEEDLEMAN and G. BAKER (eds.) *Understanding The New Religions,* Seabury, 1978. New religious movements "often serve as spiritual ink-blots; reports of movements may tell us more about the observers than the observed."

STONER, CARROLL and JO-ANNE PARKE. *All God's Children: The Cult Experience, Salvation or Slavery.* Chilton, Radnor, Pa., 1977. Penguin paperback, 1979. This lengthy book by two reporters focuses primarily on The Unification Church, The Divine Light Mission, The Children of God, Hare Krishna, Scientology, deprogramming and "contra-cult" groups. The authors try hard for fairness and balance, but the slant is inevitably anti-cult. Most of the "experts" quoted are critics and "mind control" demonologists. However, a careful reading will acquaint the reader with a number of interesting facts: many persons voluntarily leave "cults" without deprogramming, many deprogrammings "fail" in various ways and many seemingly successfully deprogrammed ex-converts return to either their original or a different "cult." The authors seem to favor negotiated arrangements for "voluntary deprogramming" but are willing to countenance involuntary kinds if the latter are not excessively brutal or totally controlled by gung-ho twenty-year-old ex-Moonies operating without supervision. Some critics of "cults" find this book useful as a source of criteria for differentiating "good" and "bad" deprogrammings.

UNGERLEIDER, J. THOMAS and DAVID WELLISCH. "Coercive Persuasion (Brainwashing), Religious Cults and Deprogramming." *American Journal of Psychiatry,* vol. 136, no. 3, March 1979. A study of fifty present and former members of various

"cults." Subjects were subdivided into four groups: cult members who had returned to their cults after deprogramming, members who feared deprogramming, ex-cultists who had left without deprogramming, and ex-cultists who left after deprogramming. There were significant attitudinal differences between various groups; however, "The groups all emerged as intellectually capable...they revealed clinically an intellectual and philosophical bent that resembles what Lifton has termed 'strong ideological hunger.' These cults appear to provide the internal turmoil of ambivalence." No evidence of mental illness was found.

WALLIS, ROY. "Recruiting Christian Manpower," *Society,* vol. 15, no. 2, 1978; and "Fishing for Men," *The Humanist,* vol. 38, no. 1 1978. Both of these articles deal with the "flirty fishing" technique developed by The Children of God to exploit sexual attractiveness of female converts to lure male converts. Wallis provides a sociological and theological analysis: "Like the Devil's Music in an earlier period, the Devil's sexual drive could also be mobilized to bring people to love the family and even to love God."

WALLIS, ROY. "Observations on The Children of God." *Sociological Review* (an English journal), vol. 24, Nov. 4, 1976. Good sociological analysis.

WALLIS, ROY. *God's New Nation.* Forthcoming monograph on The Children of God.

WALLIS, ROY. *The Road to Total Freedom: A Sociological Study of Scientology.* Columbia University Press, 1976. The definitive sociological study. Develops a conceptualization of Scientology's escalating conflicts with English and Australian authorities as

a sequence of "deviance amplification." Wallis also develops the theory that loosely structured and tolerant "cults" tend to either develop into centralized authoritarian "sects" or disappear. Wallis' cult/sect typology is at odds with the popular demonological "cult" stereotype, which really relates more to Wallis' (and other sociologists of religion) notion of a "sect." Wallis labels Scientology "totalitarian" in some respects, yet notes that the vast majority of participants live and work outside of the movement, to which they have a "client" relationship.

WALLIS, ROY. *Sectarianism: Analyses of Religious and Non-Religious Sects.* New York: John Wiley (Halstead Press, 1975). Has chapters on the English Moonists (James Beckford), Hare Krishna (Francine Daner) and Scientology's conflicts with British and Australian authorities (Roy Wallis), plus other chapters involving other kinds of groups.

WALLIS, ROY. *The Rebirth of the Gods?: Reflections on the New Religions in the West.* An inaugural lecture delivered before the Queens University of Belfast. An overview of the upsurge of non-traditional religions among young persons in the West. Wallis distinguishes between authoritarian "world-rejecting" groups such as Hare Krishna or The Children of God, which encapsulate devotees in total institutions, and "world-accepting" groups such as est, Scientology or TM, which stress techniques to facilitate adjustment and achievement within the framework of the status-quo and conventional routines. The former are declining in part because their counter- cultural hippiesque social base is waning. The latter may continue to flourish, but are increasingly losing their distinctively "religious" quality. This is one of the best short pieces on "new religions" and will surely

reappear as a formally published article in the near future.

YAMAMOTO, ISAMU. *The Puppet Master: An Inquiry Into Sun Myung Moon and the Unification Church,* Downers Grove, ILL.: Intervarsity Press. The reader's guess on this one is as good as the bibliographer's but the title doesn't sound too friendly to Moon. The title evokes ROBERT HEINLEIN's fifties' classic, *The Puppet Masters,* in which sluglike beings from outer space took over the bodies of earthlings by fastening on to their shoulders. Heinlein's mind-controlled robots were ultimately easy to spot because they were conspicuously round shouldered. This is less true of Moonies.

Part Two:

Cults, Civil Liberties and Public Policy

THE ADVISOR. A staunchly anti-cult journal published bi-monthly by The American Family Foundation. "The purpose of *The Advisor* is to report the legal and mental health issues in events involving organizations in which behavior modification threatening the integrity of the family unit and the rights of individuals may be a factor." Its clear "bias" notwithstanding, this is a very useful journal which performs a service to all persons concerned with controversies over "cults" by monitoring court cases, legislative hearings, anti-cult conferences, and cultist activities around the country. As the editors rightly note, although Congress and the National Executive may hesitate to act against cults, "it is at the state and local level that the actions of the courts and public officials are creating 'public policy' by seeking to define, and resolve these issues in a realistic, practical manner." A section of the paper, *The Collegiate Advisor,* reports on cultist activities on campuses and in high schools.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS, COMMISSION ON LAW, SOCIAL ACTION AND URBAN AFFAIRS (CLSA). Bulletin no. 1, *The Cults and the Law.* Feb. 2, 1978. A somewhat dated but otherwise quite comprehensive review of legal and legislative developments at federal, state and local levels. Includes the *Katz* case in California (conservator-

ships dismissed), the *Murphy* case in Queens, New York (Hare Krishna prosecuted for using "mind control" to falsely imprison) plus numerous other cases, bills pending in state legislatures, civil suits, etc. Not notably opinionated.

THE ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE. A special issue on "The Uneasy Bondary: Church and State." vol. 446, Nov. 1979. One article by Robbins and Anthony on cult-brainwashing controversies which compares current agitations with the "rhetoric of counter-subversion" directed against Mormons, Freemasons, and Catholics in the Nineteenth Century. Other articles summarize the emerging legal doctrines and key cases in a number of subareas of church/state relations including: legal definitions of church and religion, religion vs. civil authority in health matters, regulation of religious solicitation, legislative advocacy by churches, challanges to tax exemptions claimed by "pseudo-religious movements," and other topics.

ANTHONY, DICK. "The Fact Pattern Behind the Deprogramming Controversy: An Analysis and an Alternative." *Review of Law and Social Change,* Vol. IX, No. 1, 1979-80. Proposes a voluntary counseling service to be made available to persons considering whether to make or terminate a substantial commitment to controversial "new religions."

BECKFORD, JAMES. "Politics and the Anti-Cult Movement." *Annual Review of the Social Sciences of Religion,* vol. III, 1979. "...the existence of cults in the West today serves to precipitate questions about the character and limits of what is taken-for-granted in present-day social orders." Cults "are raising basically political questions about the assumptions on which many Western democracies are presently

based and the limits within which departures from those assumptions are tolerated."

BOWARD, WALTER. "The FBI v. Scientology." *Inquiry,* February 19, 1979. Discusses manipulative and authoritarian tactics utilized by both the Justice Department (including the FBI) and its target, The Church of Scientology.

CHAPMAN, STEPHEN. "Cult-Mongering." *The New Republic,* February 17, 1979, pp.11-13. A critical account of Senator Dole's "unofficial" Feb. 5, 1979 hearings on "cults" and "mind control." The author feels the Dole hearings should have and did fizzle. While "cults" do perpetuate abuses, "brainwashing" is the wrong angle from which to approach these problems. *Postscript:* Appearing on the PBS McNeil-Lehrer program right after the hearings, Sen. Dole seemed to shift his concern to matters of *financing* in "cults." A transcript of the program (Feb. 5, 1979) should be obtainable from the Public Broadcasting System. Richard Delgado, J. Stillson Judah, and ACLU lawyer Jeremiah Guttman (all witnesses at the hearings) were also guests.

COLLIER, PETER. "Bringing Home the Moonies: The Brain Snatch." *New Times,* June 10, 1977, vol. 8, no. 12, pp.25-29. A colorful account of the "San Francisco Case" in which, after two weeks of open hearings, Judge S. Vavuris granted temporary convservatorships to the parents who wished to have their Moonist progeny deprogrammed. Mr. Collier concludes that "brainwashing" explanations for cultic commitment owe their appeal not to scientific evidence but to "the power of a compelling syllogism: our children must be under mind control, else why would they do something so shallow and so stupid?...Former Moonies can use it (the "brainwashing" notion) to exonerate themselves for their susceptibility to such banality..."

COX, HARVEY. "Playing the Devil's Advocate, As It Were." *New York Times,* Op-Ed essay, February 16, 1977. Defends beleaguered "cults" and expresses anxiety over the possibility that harassment of new religions will not drive them out of existence, "but rather it could push them into premature accommodation, and we would lose the critical perspective that religion can bring to a culture that is in need of renewal."

DELGADO, RICHARD. "Religious Totalism: Gentle and Ungentle Persuasion Under the First Amendment." *S. California Law Review,* vol. 51, no. 1, November 1977. This is the basic (lengthy) legal brief in favor of court-ordered deprogramming and other "remedies" directed at the abuses and alleged personality damage arising from patterns of "thought reform" instituted by "cults." The author argues that cultist "thought reform" has produced "nonconsensual" personality alteration in converts via deception, segmentation of the commitment process, fatigue, etc. Deferring to the medical model, Delgado argues that a "Type I" error in which a mentally competent person is forced into therapy is *less* important than a "Type II" error in which forced assistance is withheld from a significantly disoriented person. On this basis Delgado justifies court-ordered deprogramming via temporary (30 day) conservatorships granted in *ex-parte* hearings (of which the conservatee, who is assumed to be motivated to flee the state should be appraised of the proceedings, is uninformed and from which he is excluded). Other (milder) remedies include a requirement that communal movements carefully disclose the obligations of full membership to a prospective recruit. The important *Katz* and *Murphy* cases, which transpired in the same year as the publication of this article, are treated only briefly in short footnotes. Hundreds of bibliographical foot-

notes are invaluable as sources of (often unpublished) anti-cult material, although the coverage of the literature on "cults" is heavily weighted toward critical accounts. This is a *must* reference for those interested in legal issues related to alleged "mind control" practices by religious sects.

DELGADO, RICHARD. "Investigating Cults," *New York Times*, Op-Ed page, January 27, 1979, p.A23. Professor Delgado argues for the legitimacy of "intervention" against "cults" but does not specify precise measures. Delgado presents a model of "informed consent" in which the key factors are *knowledge* and *capacity*. "Cults" are alleged to initially deceive potential recruits about the basic nature of the group and its membership requirements, and subsequently to destroy their capacity to evaluate critically their involvement by subjecting them to regimentation, fatigue, poor diet, and conditioning. Apparently he feels that most "cults" are like this, although others would argue that he is wildly overgeneralizing.

DELGADO, RICHARD. "Religious Totalism as Slavery." *Review of Law and Social Change*, Vol. IX, No. 1, 1979-80. Cults can be prosecuted for violation of the Thirteenth Amendment.

DELGADO, RICHARD. "Friendly Persuasion? Aggressive Religious Proselytizing and The Law." Forthcoming in 1981 in J. RICHARDSON (ed.) *The Brainwashing-Deprogramming Controversy* (tentative title) Transaction. A shorter version of Professor Delgado's 1977 Law Review article (see above).

DOLE HEARINGS. "Unofficial" hearings convoked on Feb. 5, 1979 by Sen. Robert Dole. *Transcript of Proceedings: Informational Meeting on the Cult Phenomenon*

in the U.S. Wash. D.C., Ace- Federal Reporters, Inc. Reprinted by American Family Foundation, Lexington, MA. Mostly, but not exclusively, anti-cult testimony.

DOOG, LAVINE. "Retrieving a Cultist Poses Legal Problems." *The National Law Journal,* vol. 1, no. 13, Dec. 11, 1978, p.19.

GANN, L.H. "The Fatal Assumption of Social Therapy." *Worldview,* vol. 21, no. 4, April 1978. A Szaszian libertarian-individualist attack on deprogramming and "social therapy" in general. According to Gann, the pernicious fundamental premise of social therapy is the assumption that social deviants are necessarily acting *involuntarily* and are not responsible for their commitments; consequently they can be temporarily denied the rights reserved for responsible social actors. "The deprogrammers assume, like totalitarians of other stripes, that their victims are incapable of making rational choices of a moral kind, based on Free Will decisions." HENTOFF, NAT. "Kidnapping and the Free Exercise of Religion." *Inquiry,* March 19, 1979, pp.4-6. An attack on kidnapping and deprogramming with some post-Jonestown qualifications. Focuses exclusively on extra-legal deprogramming.

HENTOFF, NAT. "The New Body Snatchers." *Playboy,* March 1979, p.61. An earlier attack on deprogramming originally published in the February 1978 *Playboy* and reprinted as a counterpoint to the interview with Ted Patrick in the March 1979 issue.

HIRSCH, JONATHAN. "Beyond the Law: The Cults and the Courts." *New West,* vol. 4, no. 26, Dec. 17, 1979, pp. 105-112. Basically a lament that despite media exposes, the courts and the legal machinery have

not proved useful in containing the abuses of cults. Deriding the "glib vocabulary of human rights" the author appears to favor a return to the *pre-Katz vs. Superior Court* heyday of "legal deprogramming." He is unaware that legal deprogramming is alive and well in local courts in states where the *Katz* decision is not binding. Hirsch also stresses the alleged effective use of civil suits by cults to silence critics and harass the media.

HOROWITZ, IRVING LOUIS. *Science, Sin and Scholarship,* MIT, 1978. A collection of papers on various aspects of The Unification Church. Several papers deal with "brainwashing" and civil liberties issues. Horowitz has reprinted Judge Vavuris' opinion granting conservatorships to parents of five Moonies in San Francisco. An appellate court subsequently dismissed the conservatorships in *Katz v. Superior Court.* Horowitz has reprinted the *amicus curiae* brief of the American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California in the *Katz* case. Also reprinted is Judge Leahy's opinion dismissing an indictment of Hare Krishna leaders in New York City for using "mind control" to illegally imprison converts. Finally, the editor has reprinted Dr. Daniel Bateson's essay, "Moon Madness" (see Section One).

JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL OF GREATER PHILADELPHIA. *The Challenge of The Cults.* 2nd. ed. June, 1979, 70 pages. A handbook on "cults" and their activities. Tries to define "cults" and discusses the problems with cults; why people join, legal issues related to deprogramming and brainwashing, etc. Provides a balanced discussion of the role of parents' groups, anti-cult movements, the response of religious and campus groups, and civil libertarians. Concludes with a section on alternatives for young people

called "Meeting the Needs the Cults Meet." Available from JCRC, 260 S. 15th Street, Philadelphia, PA, 19102.

JUDAH, J. STILLSON. "Programming and Deprogramming." Paper presented to an anti-deprogramming conference sponsored by the Toronto School of Theology, 1977. Attacks "mind control" conceptualizations of commitment to Moonism and other new religions. Dr. Judah has data which suggests (but does not definitively demonstrate) a rapid turnover among West Coast Moonists.

JUDAH, J. STILLSON. "New Religions and Religious Liberty." In J. NEEDLEMAN and G. BAKER, *Understanding The New Religions,* Seabury, 1978. The author failed "to find a great difference between conversion of a youth attending a Unification Church weekend workshop and one converting to a mainline Christian Church after spending a weekend in the Young Life group or after attending a denominational summer camp." Dr. Judah proposes a definitive study of converts to new religions with methodological safeguards to control for bias.

LEMOULT, JOHN. "Deprogramming Members of Religious Sects." *Fordham Law Review,* March 1978, pp.599-640. Another *must* reference for students concerned with the legal issues (a counterpoint to the important Delgado article). Reviews the legal issues involved in deprogramming controversies from an ACLU-type perspective. Lemoult reviews in some detail two key 1977 cases: *People v. Murphy* in which an indictment against the Hare Krishnas for using "mind control" was dismissed, and *Katz v. Superior Court,* in which conservatorships over Moonists granted by a lower court were dismissed. The latter case "made plain the truly

illegal nature of 'legal deprogramming.'"

MAHER, FREDERICK. "Mind Control and Religious Liberty." Forthcoming in J. RICHARDSON (ed.) *The Brainwashing-Deprogramming Controversy,* Forthcoming, Transaction. A careful, balanced analysis which anticipates the role of appellate courts in restraining overly zealous anti-cult measures backed by state legislatures and local courts.

PFEFFER, LEO. "The Current State of the Law in the United States." *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science,* vol. 446, Nov. 1979. The courts have properly been inhospitable to the notion that the constitutional protection of "free exercise of religion" does not apply to "cults" because the latter are not religions and do not involve "free" commitments. "It is difficult to justify any constitutional distinction between religions and cults."

PFEFFER, LEO. "Equal Protection for Unpopular Sects," *Review of Law and Social Change,* Vol. IX, No. 1, 1979-80. "Cults have to be accorded the same rights vouchsafed to religions."

PORTER, JACK N. "Kids In Cults: Some Legal and Political Problems." Paper read to the SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS, Boston, 1979. Dr. Porter's abstract: An overview of some of the difficult legal problems regarding civil and religious liberties; and concentrating on such issues as brainwashing, kidnapping-rescue, the tax-exempt status of some cults and their seminaries; "business fronts;" and the reluctance of the U.S. Attorney General's office to bring charges against cults because of possible freedom of religion violations. The paper concludes that under the present Carter

administration, there will be little done on a national basis against cults. Only individual and local action will have any impact, but should be pursued with restraint because violence against cults is not only illegal but counterproductive in that it breeds counter-violence on the part of the cults themselves.

POYTHRESS, JOHN, M.D. "Behavior Modification, Brainwashing and Religious Liberty." *Journal of Religion and Health*, Fall, 1979. Raises the question of whether religious movements ought not to be subject to regulation and constraint with regard to their manipulation of the personalities of converts.

PRICHARD, ANN. "Deprogramming and the Law." Report to the AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, 1978. Presents the ACLU anti- deprogramming perspective and reviews a number of important cases in the seventies, including the *Murphy* case in Queens, N.Y. (an attempt to prosecute the Hare Krishna for using "mind control") and the *Katz* case in California (in which an appellate court dismissed temporary conservatorships granted to parents by a lower court for purposes of having "Moonies" deprogrammed). Some other interesting cases in different parts of the country are briefly noted. Ms. Prichard coordinated the relatively successful 1976-78 ACLU anti-deprogramming public relations offensive.

REVIEW OF LAW AND SOCIAL CHANGE. Special issue on "Alternative Religions: Government Control and the First Amendment," Vol. IX, No. 1, 1979-80. Includes papers delivered at a conference at NYU Law School in Nov. 1979 plus transcripts of taped discussion sessions. Papers criticizing cults are featured by Richard Delgado and Marcia Rudin. Papers more sympathetic to new religions are

featured by Thomas Robbins, Dick Anthony, Leo Pfeffer and Jeremiah Gutman. Participants in the discussion includes lawyers representing "cults," lawyers representing deprogrammers, moonies and anti-cult parents. This volume is a basic reference.

ROBBINS, THOMAS and DICK ANTHONY. "'Cults' vs 'Shrinks': Psychiatry and the Control of Religious Movements." Paper presented to THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION, 1979. Argues that psychiatrists and psychologists have been in the forefront of the campaign against "cults" in part because (1) gurus and "legitimate" therapists are competitors, and (2) new opportunities are possible for the latter as "rehabilitators" of the alleged victims of unorthodox movements. The stigmatization of "cults" is thus related to the "medicalization of deviance" whereby, increasingly, realms of "deviant" behavior are reconceptualized as involuntary (symptomatic) behaviors (e.g. "compulsive gambling," alcoholism, hyperactivity, child abuse, etc.).

ROBBINS, THOMAS, DICK ANTHONY and JIM McCARTHY. "The 'Brainwashing' Metaphor As a Social Weapon: A New Conceptual Tool for the Therapeutic State." Printed as "Legitimating Repression," in *Society*, March/April 1980, vol. 17, no. 3, pp.39-42. Also in JAMES RICHARDSON (ed.) *The Brainwashing Deprogramming Controversy*. Forthcoming, Transaction. "Brainwashing" is an inherently subjective notion which is used to provide a putatively libertarian legitimation for persecuting unpopular movements.

ROBBINS, THOMAS and DICK ANTHONY. "Cult Phobia: A Witch Hunt in the Making?" *Inquiry Magazine*, Jan. 8, 1979. Warns against a post-Jonestown hysteria and the spectre of a "generalized assault on

unorthodox groups."

ROBBINS, THOMAS and DICK ANTHONY. "Cults, Brainwashing and Counter-Subversion." *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. 446, Nov. 1979. A comparison of current "cult" controversies and nineteenth century "counter-subversive" agitation against Mormons, Free Masons and Catholics.

ROBBINS, THOMAS. "'Cults' and the Therapeutic State." *Social Policy,* May/June 1979, vol. 10, no. 1. Dr. Robbins raises the question of whether we really want to move in the direction of the "Therapeutic State" which accepts the responsibility for using coercion to maintain every citizen in a state of optimal mental health? Is it intrinsically illegitimate for spiritual conversion to alter personality? It is argued that inferring the absence of "free will" in a committed devotee is a tricky inference, hence a rigorous burden of substantiation must be imposed in each case upon the party who proposes to forcibly restrict the freedom of association of an alleged mental incompetent. Finally, the author notes the diffusion of pervasive overgeneralized "cult" stereotypes and suggests that anti-cult legal controls are likely to operate in practice on the basis of a standard of *conventionality* rather than a rigorous criterion of "totalism."

ROBBINS, THOMAS. "Even a Moonie Has Civil Rights." *The Nation,* Feb. 26, 1977, vol. 224, no. 8, pp.238-242. A vehement attack on "legal" deprogramming via temporary conservatorships granted to parents in *ex-parte* "hearings" from which the potential conservatee is excluded and in which he is not represented. Such court orders enable parents to receive assistance of the police in seizing a devotee and turning him or her over to deprogrammers,

who often transport him out of state and hold him incommunicado. Since "deviant" perspectives often require strong immediate social reinforcement to be maintained, deprogramming procedures which isolate the convert from a supportive social milieu and insert him in a milieu systematically arranged to discourage sectarian beliefs often "works" -- at least in the short run. Robbins warns that political radicals could be future targets for forced "therapy" on grounds of incompetence. Finally, it is noted that forced therapy often tends to involve a direct attack on the *content* of deviant beliefs, as with the legal deprogrammer who acknowledged striving to convince his charges that their sectarian involvements were not "of God."

ROBBINS, THOMAS. "Religious Freedom and 'Brainwashing,'" *The Nation*, April 30, 1977, vol. 224, no. 17, p.518. A brief report of the "San Francisco case" in which Judge S.L. Vavuris held open hearing and then granted temporary conservatorships to the parents of five "Moonies." Subsequently an appellate court dismissed the conservatorships *(Katz v. Superior Court)* and invalidated the section of the California Probate Code under which judges had been granting temporary conservatorships to parents. "Legal" deprogramming then sharply declined in California.

ROBBINS, THOMAS. "Religious Movements, the State and the Law: Re-conceptualizing the 'Cult Problem.'" *Review of Law and Social Change*, Vol. IX, No. 1, 1979-80. Authoritarian "cults" *do* represent a social control or 'law and order' problem, but it is misleading and dangerous to civil liberties to view this as primarily a mental health problem and to respond to the abuses of cults by making it easy to forcibly confine an allegedly "brainwashed" devotee.

ROBERTSON, ROLAND. "The Sociology of Religious Movements: Shifts in Analytical and Empirical Foci." *Sociological Analysis*, Forthcoming. "One of the most important aspects of the ongoing American controversy about rights of individuals, families and 'cults' is a sharpening of the focus on the limits of societal authority in relation to the extra-societal interests of the individual...For in coming to terms legally and politically--as well as societally and psychologically--with the new cultism, 'society' is willy-nilly involved in the issue of what constitutes its own boundaries, and in a sense its own foundations."

SCHUPPIN, ERIC. "Areas of Government Involvement in Cults and Pseudo-Religious Organizations." Arlington, TX: National Ad Hoc Committee Engaged In Freeing Minds. (Reprinted pamphlet, no date). Mr. Schuppin is a lawyer who failed to legally compel his Moonist daughter to undergo a psychiatric evaluation. He was counsel for the controversial Vermont State Senate hearings on "cults," which produced a "legal kidnapping" bill to facilitate deprogramming via conservatorships.

SLADE, MARGOT. "New Religious Groups: Membership and Legal Battles," *Psychology Today*, Jan. 1979, vol. 12, no. 8, p.81. This is a one-page mini-article within a longer article by Dr. Margaret Singer on "Coming Out of Cults" (See SECTION ONE). This is an important reference, however. Slade discusses the legal practices through which converts are forcibly removed from "cults" and the legal attack on these practices being made by the "cults" with the backing of the American Civil Liberties Union. Particularly interesting is Slade's descrip-

tion of how parents and collaborating lower court judges and peace officers manage to evade the anti-deprogramming decision of appellate courts and the letter of the law.

STANFORD, PHIL. "The Quiet War on Cults." *Inquiry*, vol. 2, no. 17, Oct. 15, 1979. Highlights the role of Congressman Ottinger as successor to Sen. Dole as chief congressional anti-cult crusader and organizer of forthcoming "informal" hearings. Warning against possible government support for deprogramming, Stanford argues: "Once a form of oppression has been accepted in principle, it invariably spreads to larger and larger groups of victims...The methods used against The Socialist Workers Party were eventually directed at the Democratic Party."

STANFORD, PHIL. "Spying Back." *Inquiry*, vol. 3, no. 2, Dec. 24, 1979. Argues that Scientology's extensive espionage against the U. S. Government was a reaction to a long record of harrassment of Scientology by the FDA, IRS and the Justice Department (including infiltration, undercover agents, and theft of documents).

WOLF-PETRUSKY, JULIE C. "The Social Construction of the Cult Problem." Paper presented to THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION, Boston, 1979. Analyzes the creation and instutionalization of the "cult problem" qua social movement aimed at discrediting and mobilizing opinion against sect-like groups in American society.

Part Three:

Social and Psychological Processes in Religious Deprogramming

ACLU. *Deprogramming: Documenting the Issue,* 1977. A collection of articles, interviews and personal accounts dealing critically with deprogramming, the notion of "brainwashing" and the persecution of religious groups. Some of the essays and reports by social scientists, lawyers and journalists are cogent and some of the personal accounts of deprogrammings by converts are frightening although possibly exaggerated. The first edition of this book contained passages from what appeared to be a particularly ruthless, brutal and Machiavellian deprogramming handbook from England. Subsequently there were allegations that this handbook was an anti-deprogramming hoax perpetuated by Scientology. This section may have been deleted from later editions. A basic reference for opponents of deprogramming.

ALLIANCE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY. (APRL). *The Anti-Religious Movement* and *History of Deprogramming* (pamphlets) P.O. Box 3803, L.A., CA.

HARMGAAL, YA'AGOV. "Deprogramming: A Critical View," *American Zionist,* (1977), vol. 68, no. 7, pp.16-19. Compares deprogramming to the kidnapping of Jewish youth to be brought up as Christians in earlier times.

KIM, BYONG-SUH. "Religious Deprogramming and Subjective Reality," *Sociological Analysis,* vol. 40, No. 3 Fall 1979. This empirical study of deprogramming by a sociologist (not one of the "Kims" in the Moon sect) documents the importance of attacking the content of cultist *beliefs* in the operation of deprogramming. The study also shows that deprogramming can itself be analyzed as "coercive persuasion" in terms of Shein's model of coercive transformation of ego identity.

MACCOLLAM, JOEL A. "Cults and Their Victims: The Case for Deprogramming," *The Living Church,* July 24, 1977. See also the author's book, *Carnival of Souls: Religious Cults and Young People.* (Seabury, 1979), which is listed under SECTION ONE.

MILLER, DONALD. "Deprogramming in Historical Perspective." Forthcoming in J. RICHARDSON (ed.), *The Brainwashing-Deprogramming Controversy,* 1981, Transaction.

PATRICK, TED (with TOM DULAK). *Let Our Children Go,* Dutton, 1977. Career autobiography of the earliest and best known deprogrammer. An example of Patrick's technique: "I had a picture of Prabhupada and I tore it up in front of him and said, 'There's the no-good son of a bitch you worship. And you call him God!'" Patrick's book is fascinating and useful in making the reader aware of the existence of numerous small movements (e.g. Brother Julius). Large and well-known "cults" such as Hare Krishna or Scientology are merely the tip of the iceberg.

PATRICK, TED. *Playboy Interview,* March, 1979, pp.53-58, 60-88, 220. Some of Patrick's statements in this fascinating interview have embarrassed erstwhile

supporters such as Flo Conway and Jim Siegelman. Ruth Carter Stapleton is "one of the biggest cult leaders in the nation...She's nothing but a cult leader." Hare Krishnas soliciting on the street use hypnotic eye contacts to get donations. Rev. Moon is "a wolf in sheep's clothing" who is only pretending to be an anti-communist; he was really born and raised in *North* Korea, etc. Patrick frankly acknowledges his willingness to use brutality if the subject resists, backtalks or tries to get away. His therapeutic techniques include pointing out to a captive Moonie that Moon couldn't possibly be the Messiah because the Bible says the Messiah is not "born of woman" and Moon was born of a woman, etc.

SHUPE, ANSON, ET AL. "Deprogramming: The New Exorcism," *American Behavioral Scientist,* Summer, 197?, vol. 20, pp. 941-956. Reprinted in JAMES RICHARDSON (ed.), *Conversion Careers,* Sage 1978. This is a major paper which argues that imputations of "brainwashing," as they have been applied to "cults," are phenomenologically convergent with attributions of *demonic spirit possession* in late medieval Europe. From this perspective deprogramming can be seen as a *rite of exorcism.*

SHUPE, ANSON, ET AL. "Deprogramming and the Emerging Anti-Cult Movement." Read to THE SOCIETY FOR THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF RELIGION, 1977. Similar to the above but with more emphasis on the anti-cult movement as a *social movement* and anti-cultism as an ideology. Printed as "Cults of Anti-Cultism" in *Society,* March/April 1980, vol. 17, no. 3, pp.43-46, and in J. RICHARDSON (ed.) *The Brainwashing-Deprogramming Controversy,* Transaction, 1980.

SHUPE, ANSON and DAVID BROMLEY. *The New Vigilantes: Anti-Cultists, Deprogrammers and the New Religions,* Beverly Hills: Sage, 1980. An anticipated pioneering study by two researchers who have developed analyses of deprogramming and anti-cult activism as entailing both a *social movement* and an *ideological structure.*

SOLOMON, TRUDY. "Integrating the Moonie Experience," forthcoming, ROBBINS and ANTHONY (eds.) *In Gods We Trust: New Patterns of Religious Pluralism,* Transaction, 1980. A study of ex-Moonies which indicates that deprogrammed ex-Moonies are more hostile to Moonism and more aware of having been "brainwashed" than other ex-Moonies. This can be interpreted as indicating that deprogramming is anti-cult indoctrination.

SOLOMON, TRUDY. "Programming and Deprogramming the Moonies: Brainwashing Revisited," forthcoming in J. RICHARDSON (ed.) *The Brainwashing-Deprogramming Controversy,* Transaction, 1980. Shows that the same social psychological model can be used to analyze both conversion to Moonism and deconversion via deprogramming.

SKONOVD, L. NORMAN. "Becoming Apostate: A Model of Religious Defection." Presented at the Annual Meeting of THE PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, Anaheim, CA. April, 1979. Defection is viewed as a process which commences "when an individual believer is thrown into a dissonance-creating crisis. Attempts to lessen the dissonance will prompt the individual to review and reflect upon his or her commitment and beliefs." Mr. Skonovd is preparing a doctoral dissertation

(Sociology Dept. U. Cal. at Davis) on apostasy with a chapter on deprogramming. The latter event tends to accelerate the natural process of defection by forcing a confrontation. See below.

SKONOVD, L. NORMAN. "Deprogramming." Prepared for The Program for the Study of New Religions, Graduate Theological Union, 1979. "Rather than proffering ethical judgements...This paper presents the process through which an individual comes to renounce allegiance to a religious movement through being subjected to deprogramming." See above.

WEST, W. "In Defense of Deprogramming," Arlington, TX: International Foundation for Individual Freedom, 1975 (pamphlet). Cult "pseudo-conversion" involves the "short-circuiting reason through a conditioned reflex which is reinforced by group interaction." Deprogramming "aims at breaking the chains of fear, guilt, and repetitive thought..."

Part Four:

The Nature of "Brainwashing," etc.

FRANK, JEROME. *Persuasion and Healing,* New York: Schocken, 1974. Chapter four compares "thought reform" with religious revivalism and psychotherapy.

LIFTON, ROBERT. *Chinese Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism,* New York: Norton, 1961. This is the big book which everybody cites. Deprogrammers make their charges read this book to learn how they've been brainwashed and some Moonist leaders have converts read this volume to enable them to anticipate brainwashing by deprogrammers. Lifton notes that there is really no all-powerful irresistible method for controlling the human mind. "Brainwashing" is really none of these things, and this loose usage makes the word a rallying point for fear, resentment, urges toward submission, justification for failure, irresponsible accusation, and for a wide gamut of emotional extremism." Lifton's account of "thought reform" emphasizes "milieu control" and a manipulated group environment, which enables the leaders to stage manage a human drama of death and rebirth." See SECTION ONE for the reference for Lifton's discussion of Jonestown and "cults."

LIFTON, ROBERT. "Thought Reform of Western Civilians in Chinese Communist Prison," *Psychiatry,* 1956, vol.

9, pp.385-402. The process commences when plain-clothes police enter a person's home "often at midnight or in the early morning hours, brandishing pistols and other weapons." This is somewhat different from the process of entry into Krishna temples.

SARGANT, WILLIAM. *Battle For the Mind: A Physiology of Conversion and Brainwashing,* London: Heinmann, 1957. Dr. Sargant notes parallels between "brainwashing" in POWs and religious conversion in evangelical contexts. He discusses the careful preparation that goes into a "spontaneous" religious conversion session. Evangelists, Sargant believes, have intuitively grasped the principles whereby the mind is softened for indoctrination. Some scholars do not consider Sargant's formulation to be among the more careful formulations; yet, the bibliographer once witnessed an altercation between a pint-sized young Moongirl, who was witnessing on 14th street in New York City, and an articulate ice-cream vendor, who had read *Battle For the Mind,* and who stove mightily to convince the Moongirl that she was "brainwashed."

SARGENT, WILLIAM. *The Mind Possessed: A Physiology of Possession, Mysticism and Faith Healing,* New York, Penguin, 1975. Sargent seeks to show how a wide variety of human experiences (e.g. mystical experiences and orgasms) have as their common basis a single physiological process. The clinician must view these manifold phenomena as essentially variations on a single physiological response pattern. This process heightens suggestibility; there are both opportunities and pitfalls involved.

SCHEFLIN, ALAN and EDWARD OPTON. *The Mind Manipulators,* New York: Paddington, 1978. Chapter 2, "Laundering the Mind" deals with "brainwashing"

(pp.22-105) and "religious brainwashing" (pp.52-63). "Cults," according to the authors, represent a "non-instance" of true brainwashing. Although elements of classic brainwashing syndromes are present in "cults," they are significantly attenuated. True brainwashing entails the coercive power of "prison walls and prison guards to prevent escape." The current "uses of the brainwashing idea ironically serve the function of stifling thought. Such uses stop the search for explanations well short of any embarrassing truths." Nevertheless, some "facts *do* support the brainwashing concept as a description of an extreme form of persuasion in a context of torture." "Esoteric notions like brainwashing allow people to forget that they are responsible for their own actions. Personal values, as well as independence of thought and judgment are not snatched away from people. People all too readily give them up voluntarily."

SCHEIN, EDGAR H., ET AL. *Coercive Persuasion,* New York: Norton, 1961. Schein sees brainwashing as a progression of phases: unfreezing, changing and refreezing." To some extent Shein views the individual undergoing thought reform as dynamic and active rather than static and passive. Schein argues that if the notion of coercive persuasion is to achieve credibility, it must be acknowledged as occurring in a variety of culturally valued contexts, e.g., respectable religious orders, mental hospitals, fraternities, etc. The distinctiveness of Chinese conditioning of American POWs inheres not in the psychological processes, but in the goal to which persuasive procedures were oriented, e.e., getting prisoners to sympathize with "the enemy." In viewing coercive persuasion as somewhat ubiquitous, Schein may err in downplaying the significance of physical force, i.e., forcible constraint, which is present in some contexts (e.g.

POW camps) but not in others (e.g., Krishna Temples).

SCHEIN, EDGAR. "The Chinese Indoctrination Program for Prisoners of War," *Psychiatry*, 1956, vol. 19, pp.149-172.

SOLOMON, TRUDY. "Brainwashing: A Historical and Theoretical Perspective." A section of a longer paper forthcoming in J. RICHARDSON (ed.), *The Brainwashing-Deprogramming Controversy*, Transaction. Reviews and classifies the major "brainwashing" and "coercive persuasion" models: Psychoanalytic, psycho-physiological stress, operant conditioning, and socio-psychological. Very useful.

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